1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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571 distance is meant, as we have already indicated in the preceding section, the distance between groups of persons in a social system, expressed in terms of values. The nature of the country determines the distribution of villages and, therefore, the distance between them, but values limit and define the distribution in structural terms and give a different set of distances. A Nuer village may be equidistant from two other villages, but if one of these belongs to a different tribe and the other to the same tribe it may be said to be structurally more distant from the first than from the second. A Nuer tribe which is separated by forty miles from another Nuer tribe is structurally nearer to it than to a Dinka tribe from which it is separated by only twenty miles. When we leave territorial values and speak of lineages and age-sets, structural space is less determined by environmental conditions. One lineage is closer to another than to a third. One age-set is closer to another than to a third. The values attached to residence, kinship, lineage, sex, and age, differentiate groups of persons by segmentation, and the relative positions of the segments to one another gives a perspective that enables us to speak of the divisions between them as divisions of structural space. Having defined what is meant by structural space we may now proceed with a description of its political divisions.

IV

161 We cannot, owing to lack of adequate population statistics (see p. 117) and survey records, present a map showing the density of the different tribes, but a rough estimate is possible for the whole of Nuerland. Jackson says that the area to the east of the Nile amounts to some 26,000 square miles,[1] and recent censuses put its population at about 144,000, making about 5·5 to the square mile. The area to the west of the Nile is no less sparsely inhabited and possibly has a lower density. The total area of Nuerland is probably about 30,000 square miles and the total population round about 200,000. We may estimate that tribal density probably varies from about 4 to 10 to the square mile and that the average distribution for the whole of Nuerland is from about 5 to 6 to the square mile. Given the hydrological conditions of Nuerland and the present economy

[1] Jackson, op. cit., p. 62.

1: Evans-Pritchard E-S (1931, 1936) 1940
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of the people it may be doubted whether it could support a much larger population than it does. This is particularly the case to the west of the Nile and it is likely, as Nuer themselves suggest, that their expansion eastwards was due to over-population. It is possible for there to be great local concentration in spite of low density for tribal areas, for the estimates of square mileage include vast stretches of land devoid of villages and camps, which is grazed over in the drought or merely traversed in seasonal movements. The degree of actual concentration, in this sense, varies from tribe to tribe and from tribal section to tribal section and from season to season.

I cannot figure such distributions more accurately than the sketch-maps on pp. 56, 58, and 60, and I can only indicate them verbally in the most general terms. As we have seen, the size of a village depends on the space available for building, grazing, and horticulture, and its homesteads are crowded or strung out accordingly, forming in most villages small clusters of huts and byres which we call hamlets, each being separated from its neighbours by gardens and unoccupied land on which calves, sheep, and goats graze. The population of a village—we can make no precise statement—may be anything from fifty to several hundred souls and may cover from a few hundred yards to several miles. A village is usually well demarcated by the contiguity of its residences and the stretches of bush, forest, and swamp which separate it from its neighbours. In my small experience one may, in most parts of Nuerland, traverse five to twenty miles from village to village. This is certainly the case in Western Nuerland. On the other hand, where the nature of the ground allows, villages may be much closer together and follow one another at short intervals over wide areas. Thus the greater part of the Lou are concentrated within thirty miles of Muot tot, the greater part of the Dok within ten miles of Ler, while the Lak, Thiang, and part of the Gaawar run fairly continuously along a wide ridge between the Nile and the Zeraf. Villages are always joined to their neighbours by paths created and maintained by their social interrelations. In every part of Nuerland there are also large areas, inundated in the rains, with no, or very few, villages. Those parts of the tribal areas left blank or shaded to show dry-season occupation in the sketch-

lr Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1935) 1940
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(1) Physical conditions which are responsible for scarcity of food and a simple technology also cause low density and sparse distribution of settled areas. Lack of political cohesion and development may be related to the density and distribution of the Nuer and, furthermore, in general their structural simplicity may be due to the same conditions. (2) The size of elevated stretches of land and the distances between them permit in some parts of Nuerland larger and closer concentration than in others. In the larger tribes a large population is often compelled by the nature of the country to build their homes within a short radius. (3) Where there is relatively great density of population in the rains there tends also to be greater need in the drought for early and far movement to new pastures. This need compels recognition of a common tribal value over large areas and enables us to understand better how it is that in spite of a necessary lack of political cohesion within the tribes they often have so large a population and occupy so large a territory.

V

We have noted that structural distance is the distance between groups of persons in social structure and may be of different kinds. Those which concern us in our present account are political distance, lineage distance, and age-set distance. The political distance between villages of a tertiary tribal section is less than the distance between tertiary segments of a secondary tribal section, and that is less than the distance between secondary segments of a primary tribal section, and so forth. This forms the subject of Chapter IV. The lineage distance between segments of a minor lineage is less than the distance between minor segments of a major lineage, and that is less than the distance between major segments of a maximal lineage, and so forth. This forms the subject of Chapter V. The age-set distance between segments of an age-set is less than the distance between successive age-sets and that is less than the distance between age-sets which are not successive. This forms the subject of Chapter VI. As we wish to develop our argument and therefore to avoid analysis which does not allow the reader to refer back to statements

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
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extension according to the size of the tribe, are grouped into small tribal sections and these into larger ones. In the larger tribes it is convenient to distinguish between primary, secondary, and tertiary tribal sections. These sections, of whatever size, are, like a village, spoken of as *ciang*. Since the next chapter is devoted to these tribal segments no more is said about them here.

VI

The main Nuer tribes are shown on p. 8. The name 'Jagei' inserted to the west of the Nile includes a number of small tribes—Leng, Bor, Rengyan, and Wet. There are also some small tribes—if they are rightly regarded as tribes, for little research was done in the area—in the vicinity of the Dok Nuer: Bengh, Jeaingh, (Gaan)Kwac, and Rol. A crude census, compiled from various Government sources, gives, in round figures, the more recent estimates for the larger tribes as follows:

Sobat Nuer: Gaajak, 42,000; Gaagwang, 7,000; Gaajok, 42,000; Lou, 33,000. *Zeraf Nuer*: Lak, 24,000; Thiang, 9,000; Gaawar, 20,000. *Western Nuer*: Bul, 17,000; Look, 11,000; the three Western Jikany tribes, 11,000; the various Jagei tribes, 10,000; Dok, 12,000; Nuong, 9,000. These figures are probably more accurate for the Eastern than for the Western Nuer. Estimates show wide discrepancies and there has been much guesswork. On the basis of those recorded, the Sobat Nuer are 92,000, the Zeraf Nuer 53,000, and the Western Nuer 70,000, making a total of 214,000 for the whole of Nuerland. The population of only a few tribal segments is known. Among the Lou the Gun primary section number about 21,000 and the Mor primary section about 12,000; among the Gaawar the Radh primary section number about 10,000 and the Bar primary section about 10,000; and among the Lak tribe the Kwacbar primary section number about 12,000 and the Jenyang primary section number about 12,000.

It will be remarked that the tribes of Western Nuerland are generally smaller than those on the Zeraf, and those on the Zeraf smaller than those on the Sobat. Tribes tend to be larger the farther eastwards one proceeds. Their territories also tend to be more extensive. It may be suggested that the larger population of the Eastern Nuer tribes is due to the integrating effects of conquest and settlement and to the absorption of large numbers of Dinka which resulted therefrom, but we do not think that such explanations

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account for their maintaining a semblance of tribal unity over such large areas in the absence of any central government. It is evident that the size of tribal populations is directly related to the amount of high land available for wet season occupation, and also to its disposition, for tribes like the Lou and Eastern Gaajok and Gaajak can have a concentration of homesteads and villages on wide stretches of elevated land, which is not possible for the smaller tribes of Western Nuerland, whose only building sites are small and sparsely distributed ridges. But we hold that this fact in itself would not determine the lines of political cleavage, which can only be understood by taking into consideration also the relation between village sites and dry season water-supplies, pasturage, and fishing. We have noted earlier how tribal sections move from their villages to dry season pastures, each having spatial distinction in the rains which is maintained in the drought, but whereas in Western Nuerland there is always plenty of water, grazing, and fishing generally not far from the villages, and it is possible for wet season village communities, isolated by inundated tracts in the rains, to maintain their isolation and independence in dry season camps, in the larger tribes of Eastern Nuerland, such as the Lou, drier conditions compel greater concentration and wider seasonal movements, with the result that village communities not only have a greater spatial, and we may say also moral, density in the drought than in the rains, but have to mix with one another and share water and pastures and fishing. Distinct villages are found side by side around a pool. Moreover, people of one section have to cross the territories of other sections to reach their camps, which may be situated near the villages of yet another section. Families and joint families often camp with kinsmen and affines who belong to other villages than their own, and it is a common practice to keep cattle in two or more parts of the country to avoid total loss from rinderpest, which is a dry season pestilence. It is understandable, therefore, that local communities which, though they are isolated in the rains, are forced in the drought into relations that necessitate some sense of community and the admission of certain common interests and obligations, should be contained in a common tribal structure. The severer the dry season conditions the greater the need for some measure of contact and therefore of forbearance and recognition of interdependence. The Zeraf tribes move less than the Sobat tribes and more than the Western Nuer tribes, the Gaawar moving more than the Thiang and Lak. We may again point out that on the whole where there is plenty of elevated country which permits concentration in the rains there is likewise the greater need for large concentrations in the dry

G. Evans-Pritchard E-9 (1931, 1936)1938
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133 Bahr el Jebel, separated from the river by narrow stretches of papyrus (from river), and they often run parallel to the course of the river.

961 From the deck of a steamer passing down the Bahr el Jebel [34] there is no sign of human occupation and a traveller might judge the country to be without inhabitants. But inland ridges support a large population. These ridges are, as a rule, widely separated and one treks often enough ten to fifteen miles between one village and the next. In places there are broader belts of high ground covered 133 by thick thornwood forest, as in parts of Rengyan country, or wide 137 sandy ridges covered with scrub and palms (*doleib* and *dom*), as in parts of Dok and Rengyan countries. Those used to the bare monotony of Nuerland will be surprised to meet for the first time these sandy stretches which, with the classic beauty of the *dom* palms that surmount them, seem out of place in savannah plains. In the extreme south, in Nyuong country, which I have not visited, the clay runs into the ironstone belt and savannah gives way to savannah forest in which *Anogeissus Leiocarpus* predominates. In the north of Western Nuerland, to the north of the Bahr el Ghazal, in Lek and Bul countries, a maze of watercourses and lagoons running in all directions impede progress for the first few miles inland from the river. Then an open treeless plain extends to the borders of Kordofan. Bul country on the lower reaches of the Bahr el Arab is said to be for the greater part under water in the rainy season, though ridges of sand and forest occur on its northern and western limits.

Most of Western Nuerland is under water in the rains and the Bahr el Jebel and the Bahr el Ghazal are practically united by surface water on the intervening plain. Nevertheless the Western Nuer are probably better favoured for village sites than the Eastern Nuer.

I entered Western Nuerland at Adok on October 1st, 1936. This year was drier than usual but in a seventeen days tour round the country we walked almost the whole time in several inches of water and were often up to our armpits when crossing depressions which are constantly met on the route. How laborious such trekking is can

Stowell E. C-5 (1942-1944)1954
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131 [41] 35,000 square miles and, as it has a population of about 350,000, it will be seen that the density of population is low. Some areas are, however, more densely populated than others.

141 During the rainy season, roughly from May until November but varying from year to year, the people occupy higher ground which is better drained and comparatively free from flood. This higher ground, where they build their permanent villages and cattle-byres and have their cultivations, is limited and widely distributed. In some areas it is concentrated in a series of narrow ridges, usually running parallel to the main channels of the rivers, in others dispersed in a series of isolated outcrops. Such natural features have their effects on the size of communities, on communications and therefore social contacts, and, as a result, on political and social structure, producing local variations of detail which make generalizations difficult.

133 137 Surrounding the higher ground are the vast areas of open grass plain with thickets of acacia bush,[1] intersected by a network of grass-choked watercourses and the main rivers whose flood-plains produce different ecological conditions and different associations of grass types. Each of these regions has its function in the seasonal activities, which largely concern animal husbandry, but in which crop production, the collection of natural vegetation, and fishing play an important part. It must be emphasized here that the Nuer economy is still essentially at a subsistence level and that there is no specialization or organized trade.

I do not propose to enlarge here on the subject of grass associations and pasture utilization. It is worth noting, however, that apart from soil, temperature, and length of day, one of the most important factors in the determination of grass types is the depth and period of immersion during the rainy season. On the higher ground, where the Nuer build their permanent villages, comparatively flood-free conditions produce a mixture of perennial and a few annual grasses which are fully grazed when the cattle are unable to move farther afield. Below this level are the vast 'intermediate' plains, subject to accumulations of rainfall and overflow from the drainage channels, where the grasses are predominantly perennials (*Setaria spp.*, *Hyparrhenia rufa*, &c.). These grasses are unpalatable and virtually useless except as bulk when in a dry and mature condition. So long as moisture is retained in the soil, however, they produce a green regrowth which provides valuable pasture, but in most areas the moisture is gone by the end of January, sometimes earlier. At this point, the cattle must be driven on to the riverain marshes, which, subject to deeper and longer inundation from the rivers and watercourses as well as from rain-flood, produce other types of perennial grasses (*Vossia cuspidata*, *Echinochloa pyramidalis*, *Oryza spp.*, &c.). These grasses are of variable value during the dry season, but generally speaking provide green nutritive grazing

[1] Mainly *Acacia seyal* Del., *Acacia Ataxis* Schweff., *Balanites aegyptiaca* Del., &c.

8:Howell E, G-5 (1942-1944)1954
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

APPENDIX I

NUERLAND

Populations and Area

Central Nuer District

Tribe	*Humans*[1]	*Cattle*[2]	*Area in square miles*[3]	*Courts*
Lak	37,000	44,000*	1,500	
Gaawar	39,000	48,000*	5,120	11 (B) Regional Courts
Thiang	13,000	15,000*	970	1 (C) Main Court
Lou	63,000	126,000*	5,290	

Western Nuer District

Bul	32,000	50,000	2,320	
Leik	27,000	40,000	2,140	
Jagei	14,000	31,000*	1,220	5 (B) Regional Courts
Dok (and Aak)	21,000	35,000*	1,930	2 (C) Main Courts
Nuong (and Dur)	14,000	16,000	2,490	
W. Jikany	18,000	29,000*	1,100	

Eastern Nuer District

Gaajok	45,000	45,000	7,190	4 (B) Regional Courts
Gaajak	33,000	33,000		11 (A) Branch Courts
Totals	356,000	512,000	31,270	

[1] Based on recent tax-payer figures multiplied by 4·5 to nearest 1000 (1952). This multiplier is purely arbitrary and is probably high, but the figures given are consistent.

[2] Figures marked * are statistics taken from veterinary inoculation campaigns and represent a minimum figure. It is clear that all cattle were not counted, and possibly up to 20 per cent. should be added. Other figures are merely a rough estimate.

[3] Areas estimated by planimeter, but boundaries are not clearly demarcated or mapped and the areas are necessarily only approximate.

[p. 238 is blank]

[p. 239]

11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
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Nyueny is one of the finest
ridges (*thur*) in Western Nuerland and in times of flood the people of neighbouring villages encamp there. This advantage is slightly offset by the corresponding fact that there is often insufficient water for the cattle early in the dry season, so that the people of Nyueny are among the first to move to dry season camps. The population of the village is approximately[1] 129 souls.

The village, commencing from the outlying hamlet of Dorpan, consists of the following 26 homesteads.

Homestead No. 1 Nyaluthni ♀—Rial ♂. She is a barren woman with many cattle which she has obtained partly as fees, for she is a well known diviner and magician, and partly from the bride-wealth of her nieces, for her brother has several daughters and she not only gets the cattle due to a bride's paternal aunt but also some of those due to a bride's paternal uncle, because, being barren, she counts in some respects as a man. She exchanged a Dinka woman for cattle (*ce cek jaanga luil ka ghok*). This was not, properly speaking, a marriage but we might describe it more correctly as an exchange or even a purchase. This woman, Luel ♀, bore two children, Majak ♂ and Nyagai ♀, by a Dinka man. Nyaluthni has also married, by payment of bride-wealth and by performance of the usual ceremonial, two Nuer girls. One Nyabuor ♀, gave birth to twins, of whom Buth ♂, survives, by a man of the Jikul clan, Wecyil ♂ by name. When Wecyil ♂ died she cohabited with a Jikany man called Kemkin ♂. and she is now in child by him. The second girl, Nyakoka ♀, has recently been married and she has not yet borne children. She cohabits with Rwot ♂, a kinsman of Nyaluthni of the Tedar minor lineage.

These men do not live in Nyaluthni's homestead but frequently visit it and stay there for one or several nights. They hoe her gardens and are chosen to cohabit with her wives because they are known to be hard-working gardeners. They are given meals when they are present, and on the marriage of the daughters he has begotten the genitor will receive a cow from the bride-wealth of each.

Nyaluthni (generally known as Nyarial after her father) is the pater of the children of her wives and she is always spoken of as such when their names are mentioned. Thus people always speak of Majak ♂—Nyarial ♀ and Nyagai ♀—Nyarial ♀. Her children address her as *gwa*, "father", and not as *ma*, "mother". She is a woman of outstanding character, with fine features, and always well-dressed. She is very competent and runs her homestead like a man. If her wives are lazy or disobedient she beats them. They treat her with the respect due to a husband and place meals before her with the same ceremony as they would employ to a male husband. She speaks of them as "my wives". She directs the business

[1] I say "approximately" because it was not my intention to compile a census though in fact I did so in the course of my enquiry into matrimonial conditions in the village. Consequently it is possible that two or three girls whom I have reckoned as residents are married to husbands in other villages. This may have been the case at the southernmost end of the village. I know everyone in the of rest the village too well for this mistake to have been made, enquiry always being controlled by personal contact.

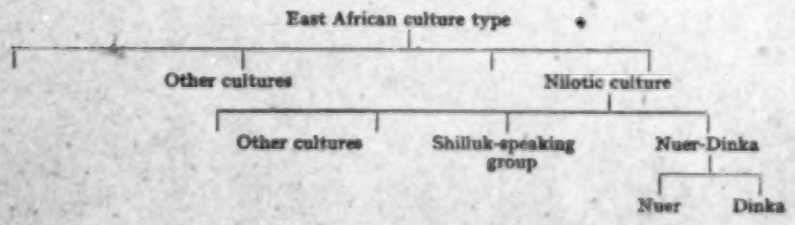
12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

124 season of the year. Illness prevented a final visit to Lek country in the early part of the rains. I mention these facts because it is essential that conditions of research should be understood if its results are to be rightly evaluated. In a final account I shall describe more fully the methods of research which I employed to meet these conditions.

[161] 105 The population of the Nuer to the east of the Nile is given by Jackson as about 320,000, and an estimate made in 1928 puts their total population on both sides of the Nile at 430,000. They form a homogeneous nation. All are pastoralists, though they make keen use of what opportunities their unruly climate allows them to cultivate the soil, and they are tireless in pursuit of game and fish. With slight regional differences their material culture is everywhere the same. Everywhere one sees the same kind of cattle byres and huts, milking vessels and other technical necessities of stock-raising, household utensils and ornaments, etc. Dialectical differences in their language are slight throughout the entire area, and in spite of local variation there is a common mythology and ritual. Likewise there are no appreciable differences in social organisation in the different countries of Nuerland. The Nuer, therefore, may be spoken of as a homogeneous nation which, with the Dinka nation, form a sub-group of the larger Nilotic conglomerate.

101 The Nuer belong to an East African culture type, the limits of which are at present ill defined both geographically and in terms of culture. Within this heterogeneous complex they form in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan a unit of related cultures with the Shilluk (including the Anuak, Bor, and other peoples which speak dialects of the Shilluk tongue) and Dinka nations of the Nile valley. Shilluk culture is so divergent from the other two that we may speak of Nuer-Dinka culture in contrast to it. Thus we may construct the following diagram :—

DIAGRAM NO. 1.



12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
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EASTERN NUER.

Tribe.		*Population.*	
Thiang	10,000[1]	...	—
Lou	70,000[1]	...	100,000[3]
Lak	30,000[1]	...	(+Thiang 40,000)[3]
Gaawăr	50,000[1]	...	30,000[3]
Jekany (Gaajok, Gaajak, Gaagwang)	160,000[1]	...	200,000[3]
Total for Eastern Nuer	320,000[1]	...	370,000[3]

There is no doubt that many of these estimates are excessive. The latest figures, and doubtless the most accurate ones, have not yet been published, but I have been privileged to see some of them. They place the Thiang at 7,750, the Lou at 19,025,[2] the Lak at about 18,000, the Gaawăr at 18,000. There is a probability, therefore, that the Eastern Nuer do not exceed 200,000–300,000 in total number.

Jackson does not furnish figures for the Western Nuer. Those given in the Rejaf Conference Report present a total population of 60,000 for all tribes. The only tribal figures I have seen are based partly on tribal affinity and partly on areas of administration. They are :—

WESTERN NUER.

Tribe.	*Population.*	
Dok	11,493	(1927)
Jagei	5,195	(1927)
Nuong	7,421	(1927–1929)
Bul	10,924	
Lek (one section)	8,333	
Lak (another section + two sections of Jekany)	3,120	
Kiial (+ some Jekany)	2,953	(1927)
Jekany (one section)	4,031	(1927)
Total	53,060	

I am fairly certain that not every one of the names given on the map represents a tribe in the sense in which I am using the term. The exact nature of these political divisions will be known only as a result of further research. A tribe is defined as the largest political unit within the nation and it has four characteristics : (1) it has a territorial basis, (2) its members have a common name and sentiment, (3) it regulates disputes between its members, (4) it unites for war against other tribes or segments of other nations.

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[1] Is an estimate given by Jackson (*op. cit.*) in 1923.

[2] Is an estimate given in the *Report of the Rejaf Language Conference*, in 1928.

[3] The wide discrepancy between the latest and earlier estimates for the Lou is possibly due in part to inclusion in the earlier figures of the Ngok Dinka and those Dinka who have since been transferred to Dinkaland by the Government.

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

Little harm is done whichever way we speak of them so long as we clearly define what we refer to at the outset. The point to remember is that "tribe" among the Nuer is a relative term and that what we speak of as a tribe to-day may not be one in our sense to-morrow. I have even been told (by Cuol, the Government interpreter at Nasser) that there was no *cut* between Yol and Wangkac primary sections of the Gaajok tribe. He told me that there used to be blood-compensation between these two sections till so many people on either side were killed that it ceased to function. It is clear, if this is the case, that "tribe" must be relative, and to some degree an arbitrary and *ad hoc* term. The only difference between the nomenclature used in this paper and that usually employed is that I shall regard the three divisions of what is generally called the Eastern Jekany tribe, the Gaajak, Gaajok, and Gaagwang, as separate tribes. In doing this I fully realise the arbitrariness of the usage.

This continual process of segmentation in the tribe is due to the weakening of these bonds upon which the solidarity of primitive groups depends, communal life and kinship. The difficulty of pasturing and watering cattle during the dry season necessitates a sparse population to a large area. The more populous a group becomes the greater becomes this economic problem which can only be solved by its members going further and further afield to exploit more distant pastures and water supplies. This has undoubtedly been one of the causes of Nuer expansion during the last century. The result is that members of a group become less and less into contact with one another the larger it grows and the social and political solidarity of the group is consequently loosened. Thus, the tribe has the minimum of cohesion, while the small village group which lives together in dry and wet seasons is a closely knit community. The cohesion of other territorial groups between the village and the tribe varies in rough proportion to their size. As will be explained later, widening of spacial distance goes hand in hand with widening of distance in blood relationship. For even the bonds of kinship loosen when kin ceases to be localised and begin to spread over a large area, because if kin are to function as economic, social and ceremonial agents they must live together. How else can they pasture their herds in the same plains? How else can they attend the same weddings and mortuary ceremonies? How else can they act together

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

Chapter One

THE TRIBE—HISTORY AND APPEARANCE

101 THE Nuer tribe are found in the southern part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in the Nasser and Abwong districts and also on the Zeraf island and along the Nile.

●161 At the Rejaf Language Conference in 1928, the Nuer population was estimated as 430,000.

565 There are a certain number of Nuer who constitute what they call their 'aristocracy'. These are not supposed to intermarry as they are considered as one family. They are called 'dil'. A chief is always a 'dil'.

622 There are various chiefs in different parts of Nuerland, but their individual domains are not large. The people do not make obeisance before them as other tribesmen do when in the presence of their chief. But they show them respect and preference in many ways. If a chief is among those waiting to go across the river in canoes, he is always accorded a place in the first canoe to go across.

Then there are chiefs of the leopard skin, which position is hereditary. These chiefs wear a leopard skin over the shoulders, which is the insignia of their position and authority.

STORIES OF ORIGIN

773 The Nuer have a number of stories of their origin in folk-lore tales which are handed down from one generation to another. They have a firm belief in these tales of long ago. 'Would our people lie to us?' they ask.

A very large gourd is supposed to have fallen down from heaven. In it were a spear, a leopard's skin, and a person. This person they call Kiir and he is the father of the first Nuer.

173 They also tell the following tale about the time when the Nuer first came to the country they now inhabit.

721 reason that the Shilluk have no cattle and they only raid people with cattle.(1) Although in direct contact with the Anuak in the far eastern parts of Nuer territory, tsetse fly and absence of cattle make the area unsuitable for encroachment and the Anuak were only occasionally raided by the Nuer. When rifles were introduced and the Anuak could defend themselves they retaliated with raids on the Nuer. The Burun were occasionally raided by the Nuer for captives. Other communities, Arab and those of the Nuba mountains, were raided only occasionally. Except for the 829 Beir whom the Nuer appear to have respected, and the Dinka whom they fought, most foreign peoples were classed by the Nuer as *Bar*, that is, cattle-less folk, or people possessing few cattle. Another category was *Jur*, cattle-less people whom the Nuer regarded as lying on the outskirts of their world; these included the Azande, Europeans, and the Bongo etc., although the Nuer have differentiating terms for most of them.

POPULATION

161 Official estimate of population is 260,000. Estimates for the various tribes are given approximately as follows by Evans-Pritchard.(2)
619

THE EASTERN NUER

The Sobat Nuer				The Zeraf Nuer		
Gnajak	Gaawang	Gaajok	Lou	Lak	Thiang	Gaawar
42,000	7,000	42,000	33,000	24,000	9,000	20,000

THE WESTERN NUER

Bul	Leek	3 Western Jikany Tribes	Jagei Tribes	Dok	Nuong
17,000	11,000	11,000	10,000	12,000	9,000

NOMENCLATURE

101 The Nuer call themselves *Naath*, (sing. *Ran*). The Shilluk, Arabs and Dinka call them *Nuer*. The Nuer also speak of the tribes west of the Bahr el Jebel as *Nath cieng* - 'the homeland Nuer', and of those east of the river as *Nath Doar* - 'Bush Nuer'.(3)

THE ATWOT

000 These appear to be a Nuer tribe, speaking a Nuer dialect, but having adopted many Dinka habits. They are situated in the Lakes district south west of Yirrol, south of the Dinka; they number 31,600 approximately. Little is known of them.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, 1940, p.132.
(2) Ibid. p.117.
(3) Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, 1932, p.207.